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Neighborhood analysis: A survey approach to South Omaha

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NEIGHBORHOOD ANALYSIS:
A SURVEY APPROACH TO
SOUTH OMAHA, NEBRASKA

A Thesis

Presented to the

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by

Carol J. Lunbeck

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Accepted for the faculty of the College of Graduate Studies of the University of Nebraska at Omaha, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts.

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INTRODUCTION

The massive urban renewal and highway construction projects undertaken in recent years represent efforts to alleviate some of the problems of modern society. Urban renewal was dedicated to solving the social problems of the slums. Highway construction projects are efforts to solve problems of a more technical nature. Both have tended to leave in their wake other problems as least as difficult as those they were intended to solve. Urban renewal has demolished old slums and created new ones. Highway construction has disrupted established neighborhoods without consideration of the effect on the social structure of the area. Now there is increasing recognition of the need to evaluate the possible social consequences before locating and constructing a highway in any given area. An amplification of the factors given consideration in highway corridor location can be found in McHarg, Design With Nature, (1969:31-71).

THE PROBLEM

This study was conducted as part of a larger effort to select the best possible corridor for a highway through South Omaha. It was based on the assumption that an analysis of neighborhood characteristics could assist in locating the highway corridor where there would be the least likelihood of disrupting established, socially cohesive neighborhoods, and the most likelihood of benefiting the surrounding area. The problem was to locate the neighborhoods, determine the degree of social unity or cohesiveness present within each of the

neighborhoods, and to describe the social characteristics of the neighborhoods. In attempting to shed light on this problem, Keller's (1968:156-157) major categories were investigated. These are (1 Neighborhood delineation; (2) Neighboring practices; (3) Use of area facilities; and (4) Neighborhood attachment. These were incorporated in the interview schedule for the study, and are discussed in detail below.

The study area included the portion of South Omaha from L Street on the north to Childs Road on the south; and from Thirteenth Street on the east to Thirty-Eighth Street on the west.

In conjunction with analyses of several other environmental factors the findings were used by the planners to select the final corridor route for the highway. (Reports of the studies are on file at the State Department of Roads in Lincoln).

Problems of Neighborhood Analysis

The adaptation of the common terms "neighbor" and "neighborhood" to the uses of social science seems to be a result of increasing urbanization. According to the American Heritage Dictionary, neighborhood refers to "the people who live in a particular vicinity," and "a district considered in regard to its inhabitants or distinctive characteristics." Neighbor is defined as "one who lives near or next to another."

The idea that neighborhoods were discrete subdivisions of the city appeared in the literature in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries. It was subsequently incorporated into city

planning theory, and still persists today (Omaha City Planning Department, 1967). Ebenezer Howard developed the "neighborhood unit" concept in his book, Garden Cities of Tomorrow (Howard, 1902). Emphasizing spatial elements, he proposed that the ideal neighborhood consisted of the "ward" with a population of five thousand; its own school; government; and radial road boundaries.

Clarence A. Perry presented the above ideas for the first time in an address before the 1923 meeting of the American Sociological Society. They were later incorporated in a monograph (Perry:1929). The City of Chicago was the focus of intensive study by Parke, Burgess and others in the decades following. Taking an ecological approach, they discovered certain "natural areas" of Chicago, and also found that urban growth occurred in patterns of concentric circles (Park, et. al. 1925).

The importance of the neighborhood as a socializing agent was first recognized by Charles Horton Cooley. He identified the neighborhood as a primary group which shares with the family responsibility for socialization of the child, and emphasized the importance of the neighborhood group as a social factor (Cooley, 1929).

Prior to World War II this was the state of knowledge about the urban neighborhood. The new profession of City Planning was concerned with spatial units and physical structures. The emergent Schools of Sociology were just beginning to consider the neighborhood as a social phenomenon. Most of the work was theoretical; little empirical research had been done.

After World War II the practical problems faced by the cities

encouraged the development of research and convergence of the two streams of thought. In Europe cities were faced with rebuilding after the war. In the United States, the nation was becoming urban at an accelerated rate, straining the capacity of its cities to house and serve the burgeoning population. Establishing new neighborhoods and renewing old ones called for a better understanding of the function they performed as well as the relationship between neighborhood physical structure and social relationships.

Neighborhood researchers faced the difficulty of dealing with a multitude of interrelated variables. At the least, they had to consider individuals; the functioning of neighborhoods for individual and group life; the structure of neighborhoods and neighboring process, and the neighborhood as a spatial entity existing through time (Arensberg, 1955:1146-48).

In 1968, Suzanne Keller reviewed and summarized the research of the previous twenty years in order to synthesize the sociological evidence relevant to planning. She concluded that study of urban neighborhoods had been plagued by failure to clarify conceptual ambiguities (Keller, 1968:9-12). This in turn led to seemingly contradictory research evidence. She proposed that greater clarification could be gained by considering the role of the neighbor separately from the activities associated with the role. In her appraisal methodological ambiguities such as inadequacies in sampling, in questionnaire design and in data gathering techniques -- had contributed to lack of coherence. Finally, she found that the necessity for ascertaining the existence of neighborhoods posed problems for

researchers. While many methods for defining neighborhood boundaries had been tried, none had emerged as singularly effective.

Most of the studies Keller examined did not deal specifically with the neighbor role. With the exception of a study of elderly East London residents by Townsend (1963:Chap. 10), her conclusions were inferred from data on neighboring activities (Bott, 1967:67; Gulick, et. al., 1962:339-340; Mackensen, et. al., 1959:Chap. 4; Bracey, 1964:Chap. 5; Kuper (ed.), 1964:43). She determined that differences in the definition of the neighbor role were based on class and age distinctions, and with reference to the cultural and social settings. From the evidence contained in the above studies she defined the neighbor role as distinct from that of the friend or relative, and supplemental to other roles. The neighbor is "the alien who must help but not intrude" and "the helper in time of need who is expected to step in when other resources fail" (Keller, 1968:29). Thus, neighbors are spatially but not spiritually close.

Neighboring activities are those "in which neighbors engage as neighbors", according to Keller (1968:29). They are based on the neighbor role and are primarily crisis oriented. Personal crises, collective crises, and big collective events, such as marriages and funerals, constitute the chief occasions for neighboring. The activvities which are considered helpful in times of need cover a wide range, from borrowing or lending necessary items to exchanging goods, services and advice. She found considrable variation by culture, group or class as to what is considered a crisis or a need (Wilner, et. al., 1962:25; Mackensen, et. al., 1959:Chap. 4; Mann, 1954:165).

Items, and the goods, services and advice which appropriately may be exchanged also vary. Thus borrowing food was included in the American concept of good neighboring, while the English disapproved of borrowing food or household items, but considered borrowing tools normal (Bracey, 1964:Chap. 5). Keller (1968:30) concluded that neighboring activities and neighbor relationships are based on a predictable core element based on the neighbor role, and additional unpredictable elements reflecting the social and personal context within which neighboring takes place.

The studies she examined also analyzed neighboring activities according to several different dimensions, utilizing a wide range of instruments. Measured were the frequency of neighboring; its priority; its intensity; extent; formality; locale and occasion. The instruments ranged from simple unstructured questioning to highly structured questionnaires with responses that could be scaled (Fava, 1958:123-31; Wallin, 1953:243-46; Caplow, et. al., 1964: The Interview Schedule; Dore, 1958:257; Zweig in Anderson, 1952:55).

Keller (1968) found that both objective and subjective methods in various combinations have been used to locate neighborhoods and delineate their boundaries. The objective methods make use of "statistical and census data, physical reconnaissance of the terrain, and information supplied by informants deemed especially knowledgeable about the area" (Keller, 1968:93). For example, Glass (1948:18) plotted distributions of characteristics such as net population densities; age and condition of dwellings; ethnic and religious composition of inhabitants; occupations and figures on school attendance.

In order to locate the neighborhoods she traced the boundaries around the areas where these overlapped. Another approach, used by Warren (1963:14-25) utilized information about where the residents of the area shop, work, and play. The distribution of these activities provided the basis for drawing neighborhood boundaries. A more subjective method was used by Herman (1964:4). He asked local persons to name the areas they considered neighborhoods and he supplemented this data with information provided by organizational records, newspapers, and historical accounts. Reimer (1959:31-43) asked the respondents themselves to indicate the boundaries of their neighborhoods. Keller (1968:63) concluded, however, that no foolproof method for locating neighborhoods has as yet been determined.

> any and all criteria used to find them (boundaries, residents' feelings, concentrated use of neighborhood facilities, and extensive neighbor relations are all valid and usefull indicators.

Finally, she concluded that the complexities which make the study of urban neighborhoods difficult have not been systematically dealt with, and that there is little coherence or pattern to the present theory of urban neighborhoods. The following statement (Keller, 1968:157) summarizes her findings. It also suggests a framework for future studies:

> Local areas that have physical boundaries, social networks, concentrated use of land facilities and special emotional and symbolic connotations for their inhabitants are considered neighborhoods. The difficulty in locating neighborhoods is because the four dimensions do not overlap significantly. Especially in urban areas, the boundaries of neighbors with whom active relations are maintained do not coincide with historical, official or physical boundaries of neighborhoods, nor with the use of local facilities, nor with attachment to the local setting.

The present study does not purport to correct all the deficiencies pointed out by Keller. It grows out of a study made to assist planners in locating the best possible route for a highway and it attempts to utilize and build upon existing sociological knowledge. Thus, it may serve to reduce further the gap between analytical sociology and practical planning; and it also may shed new light on the sociology of the urban neighborhood.

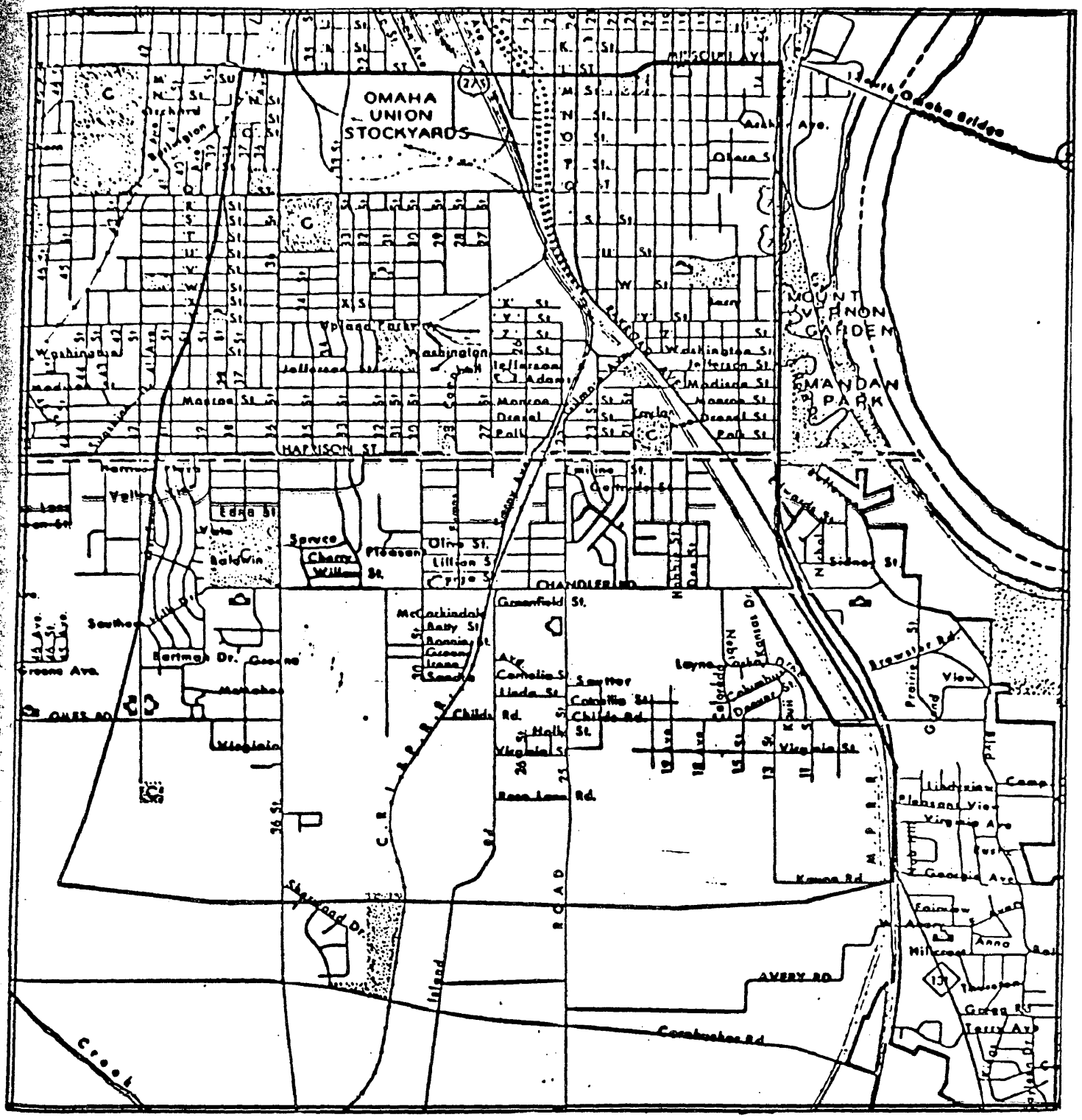
THE STUDY AREA

South Omaha presents a particular challenge for a study of neighborhoods because of its history and the composition of its population. Bounded by "F" Street on the north, Harrison Street on the south, Thirteenth Street on the east and Forty-Second Street on the west, it was originally a separately-incorporated city which was annexed to the city of Omaha in 1915 (Omaha City Planning Department, 1967). The area was long the home of the Union Stockyards and the center of the meatpacking industry, the most stable of Omaha's industries (Leighton, 1938:312). Its population was composed of various ethnic groups. Primary among these were the Poles, who settled just north of the stockyards in an area that became known as "Sheeleytown"; and the Czechs, who first settled around Fourteenth and William Streets. The Nebraska Writer's Project (1941:15) lists the Czechs and the Poles as the dominant foreign groups in 1930. Smaller ethnic groups (Swedes, Germans, English, Italians and Negroes) also settled in the area. Between 1960 and 1970, all of South Omaha lost population (Weikel, 1971:45). The ethnic group concentration appeared to be breaking up. Although Czechs and Poles joined the other groups in the westward migration (i.e. to West Omaha) they still remained the dominant groups in South Omaha. The ethnic flavor of the area remains. The number of Bohemian, Polish and Mexican restaurants and bars; the Sokol organizations, and the national churches (such as Our Lady of Guadalupe) concentrated there give evidence of this.

The occupations of the residents of the area were concentrated in the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled categories (Nebraska Writers Project, 1941:14). These categories include most laboring and factory jobs, indicating that the meatpacking plants were still the major employers in the area at that time. Decreasing employment opportunities caused by the exodus of the meatpacking plants in the late 1960's, coupled with the loss of population, spurred a renewal of interest in the area's economic conditions. The plans for extending the Kennedy Freeway through the South Omaha area aroused interest in the social conditions in the area.

Previous sociological studies have used wards or census tracts as the basis for subdividing South Omaha (Barger, 1967:34-36; Pickens, 1947; Nebraska Writers Project, 1971:vi). City planners have divided the South Omaha area into four "planning neighborhoods" (Appendix C). Because these earlier studies had different missions as their research aims, the location and delineation of neighborhoods according to the subjective judgments of area residents was inappropriate. Since this study began with a need to establish highway corridors which would be least likely to disrupt long-established behavior patterns, it was necessary to investigate these subjective judgments. The present study includes most of the former city of South Omaha (now Census Tracts 25-32). It also includes that part of Sarpy County south of the Omaha city limits in tracts 101.01, 101.02, and 105 (Figure 1).

Figure 1.--The Study Area



STUDY DESIGN

Overview

The research task emphasized development of a comprehensive approach to data gathering which could be utilized as a diagnostic tool for planners, and also as material for sociological analysis. The problem so stated (p. 1) was to locate neighborhoods, determine the degree of social unity or cohesiveness of those neighborhoods and to describe the social characteristics of the neighborhoods. The instruments devised were based on the four dimensions designated by Keller as major problem areas: (1) delineating neighborhood boundaries, (2) revealing the netwarks of social relations, (3) assessing the use of area facilities, and (4) the degree of attachment to the local area. These were incorporated into an interview schedule which was administered to a representative sample of the residents of the study area (See Appendix B). Data analysis involved delineating neighborhood boundaries; grouping the respondents by neighborhoods; computing mean scores and percentages for the variables measured, and building comparative profiles for the neighborhoods.

In order to assist in the highway corridor selection, a report on the neighborhoods found, along with their corresponding mean scores on the neighboring practices scale was sumitted to the highway planners for incorporation into their study. Using the enviornmental mapping technique (McHarg, 1969) the planners selected several alternate corridor routes. After these routes were selected, the neighborhoods along the alternate corridor routes were re-examined for possible

redefinition of boundaries and regrouping of social data. The data presented in this paper are based on the final boundary definitions and data groupings.

Research Techniques

Highways and highway construction have been a controversial issue in Omaha as elsewhere, and reactions to proposals for highway construction generally have not been good. In the past, South Omaha has been a particularly difficult area in which to conduct field research because of the reluctance of the residents to cooperate with researchers. With these problems in mind, the methods of gathering primary data were considered, and the survey was selected as most appropriate. In spite of the possibility of encountering resistance from hostile respondents, the interview was chosen as the most feasible of the data-gathering techniques. The interview can be tailored for length, it can allow for both open-end and closed questions, it can utilize interviewer observations, it can be based on a small sample and it generally has a low refusal rate.

The interview schedule was constructed with consideration given to several factors. It was assumed that the survey would meet with some hostility. Therefore, the initial section of the questionnaire was designed to be relatively innocuous and to build up rapport between interviewer and respondent. Hence Section One contained the social and demographic data, plus the delineation of neighborhood boundaries. Section Two contained the data on shopping and schools, work, recreation, etc. Section Three contained the cohesiveness items, and Section

Four the items on neighborhood pride and attachment.

The second factor concerned the possible difficulty in maintaining objectivity. In order to keep emotion from entering in, the interview topics were designed so that the respondent had to choose from a group of possible answers (the closed-end question). This type of question construction is easier to quantify for computer analysis. Two open-ended questions were included to allow for finer distinctions and to give the respondent the opportunity to express ideas not necessarily implicit in the structured questions. This format allowed the interviewer to get the necessary data quickly; then continue the interview at his discretion if he thought more valuable detail could be obtained. It was found that the eight-page schedule could be administered comfortably in thirty to forty minutes.

Sample Selection

The area-probability sampling method was used. According to this method the area is divided into smaller sub-areas. Each sub-area is assigned a quota, or proportion of the total sample; then the units to be included in the sample are selected randomly from within each sub-area (Goode and Hatt, 1952:222-224).

In this case, the sub-areas were census block groups. In order to arrive at a sample size it was necessary to determine the total number of housing units in the study area. This was done by summing the number of housing units in each census block group within the study area. When study area boundaries bisected a block group the number of housing units inside the study area was estimated. The total number of

housing units in the study area was 6,175. The sample size was set at 380 housing units (6.15 percent). To reach each block group quota, the number of household units was multiplied by 6.15 percent. Table I details the selection of block group quotas.

TABLE I

SAMPLE QUOTA BY CENSUS TRACT AND BLOCK GROUP

Census Tract	Block Group	Household Units	Percent of Household Units in Study Area	Number of Household Units in Study Area	Number of Interviews In Sample
26	3	216	15	32	2
27	1	501	95	475	29
	2	228	100	228	14
	3	272	50	136	9
28	1	577	70	384	23
	2	278	100	278	18
	3	193	100	193	12
	4	203	70	140	8
29	1	173	100	173	10
	2	214	100	214	14
	3	371	100	371	22
	4	438	60	263	17
	5	676	100	676	42
30	1	380	100	380	24
	2	306	100	306	18
31	2	239	40	96	5
32	4	279	100	279	18
101.02	1	822	10	82	5
101.01	1	64	100	64	3
	2	196	35	69	4
	3	260	100	260	16
105	1	422	85	359	23
	2	818	80	655	41
	3	615	10	62	3
Totals				6,175	380

To select household units to be part of the sample, addresses within each block group were assigned a number, beginning with one. Then, the table of random digits was entered. Numbers in the sample were converted back to addresses, and were assigned to interviewers. This procedure pertained throughout the study area.

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Neighborhood Delineation

Barbara Ward (1971:27) has described the neighborhood as the "smallest and most human unit" of the city. She defines its size as the area within walking distance of certain necessary facilities, such as schools and shopping. Neighborhoods are often defined in terms of census tracts, school attendance areas, or city planning districts. In the past, studies of neighborhoods did not attempt to verify empirically the boundaries they described for neighborhoods. However, recent concern with locating highway corridors to least disrupt established neighborhoods requires a reliable, socially grounded method for defining neighborhood boundaries.

One such method has been developed recently by McLean and Adkins (1971:6-8) in their study of the impact highways have on urban neighborhoods. Using census and city directory data, they developed neighborhood indices from variables such as condition of dwelling units; crowding in dwelling units; number of rooms per dwelling unit; and value of dwelling units. With these data they were able to compare neighborhoods before and after highway construction.

Since the present study was part of an effort to establish the best location for a highway corridor rather than with the observable effects of highways on neighborhoods, another method was sought. After investigating the historical background of the study area, taking into consideration the possibility that neighborhoods could be based

on ethnic grouping, a more subjective method seemed appropriate. Therefore residents of the study area were asked to define (or describe) their own neighborhood boundaries. The only limitation given was that the boundaries be stated in terms of streets. The streets mentioned were tabulated, and boundaries were set on the streets mentioned most frequently. The resulting geographical neighborhoods were then used as the basis for grouping the questionnaire data.

Neighboring Practices

Simple recognition of the physical identity of a neighborhood is not enough. The network of social relationships which define the social dimensions of neighborhoods must be considered also. This network consists of a set of practices which has been called "neighboring". Thus a measure of "neighboring practices" was used as an indicator of the degree of social unity or cohesiveness within the neighborhood. The study utilized items which purport to ascertain the existence and frequency of specific types of contacts among neighbors. They were selected from two similar scales, one which was developed by Wallin (1953) for measuring neighborliness and the other by Bernard (1935) for measuring neighboring practices of different kinds of people in different parts of the city. A Guttman type scale used with replies expressed as frequencies, or a four-point scale ranging from "never" to "often." A mean score was calculated for the entire sample. Then the scores of the individual respondents on this instrument were grouped according to the neighborhood in which they lived, and a mean

score calculated for each neighborhood. The neighborhoods were then rank-ordered and grouped in categories of low, medium or high in relationship to the sample mean.

Use of Area Facilities

The more formally organized social and economic activities taking place within neighborhoods, and usually involving the use of physical facilities, provide a third dimension. These activities and their location indicate the presence of social ties and networks that differ from those of practices directly associated with neighboring. The location of places of work; schools attended; residence of friends and relatives; recreation; formal organizations and shopping may contribute to perceptions of neighborhood boundaries. They may also relate to the degree of cohesiveness (social unity) within the neighborhood. The existence of, and participation in, organizations such as school, P.T.A., and church circles also were considered as variables related to the degree of cohesiveness within the neighborhood. Thus, it was hypothesized that the more social and organizational activities confined within the boundaries of the neighborhood, the more cohesive the neighborhood.

In order to analyze this set of factors, questions were asked regarding: (1) the location of place of work; (2) schools attended; (3) location and frequency of park use; (4) location of other places of recreation; (5) residence of friends and relatives (including frequency of visits); (6) location of various types of shopping; and (7) number and types of organizations.

The activities were treated as variables which could occur either inside or outside of the neighborhood. For each variable the number of locations inside the neighborhood was summed and a percentage calculated. A table showing the variables and percentages for each neighborhood was constructed so that comparisons between neighborhoods could be made (Table V).

Neighborhood Attachment

The fourth dimension of interest to the study was an assessment of the degree of pride in, and attachment to, the neighborhood expressed by the residents. This was measured by a series of questions concerning the respondents' perceptions of the desirability of the neighborhood, their plans for moving, and their feelings about the future of the neighborhood. Also included were items to obtain opinions on the feasibility of constructing a highway in their neighborhood, and whether or not they would be in favor of having a highway in the area. Analysis of this portion of the study was used to summarize the present feelings of the respondents and to construct a measure of neighborhood attachment.

FINDINGS

The following pages contain a presentation of the data for each of the four dimensions studied. These dimensions are those defined by Keller and are described earlier in this study. The data obtained indicate that separate and distinct neighborhoods do exist in South Omaha. The measurement of neighboring practices; use of local facilities; and neighborhood attachment within neighborhoods, indicate that the neighborhoods vary markedly along these dimensions. The addition of demographic and socio-economic indicators for the sample from each neighborhood completes the picture, forming a social profile for each neighborhood.

Neighborhood Delineation

Not all respondents were able to name the boundaries of their neighborhoods. There were 1,170 replies out of a possible 1,516, a response rate of 77.17 percent. There was a lack of strong agreement on all four boundaries. However, when the number of times each street was mentioned as a boundary was tabulated, it was found that several streets were mentioned more frequently that others (Table II). When the streets mentioned most frequently were plotted on a map, they formed the boundaries for fifteen neighborhoods (Figure 2).

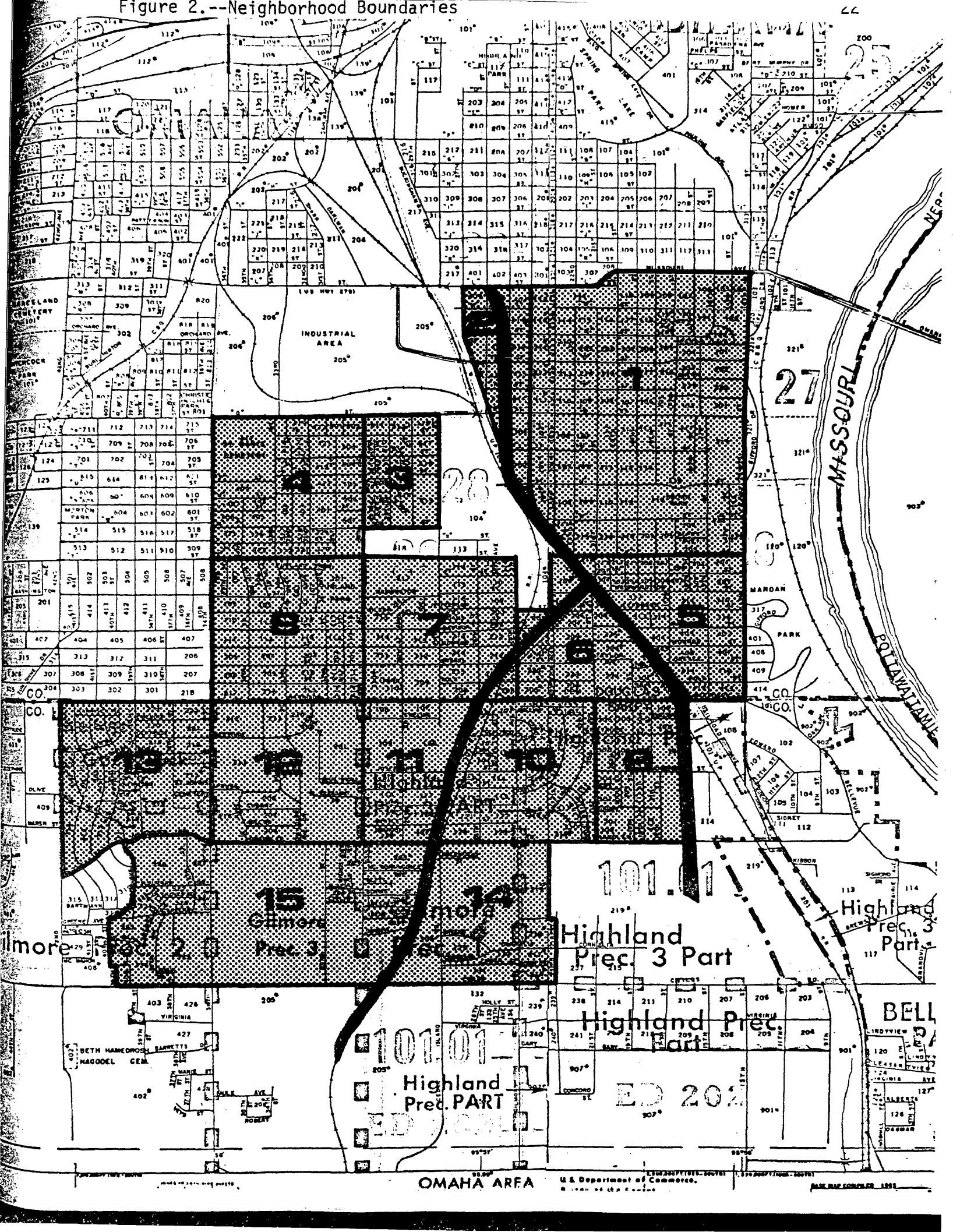
Some adjustment of boundaries was made. An example is Twentieth Street. Even though it was mentioned as a boundary a total of twenty-six times, it was not accepted as a neighborhood boundary because the respondents calling it a boundary were widely scattered throughout the study area. Other streets were mentioned often (such as Twenty-

TABLE II

STREETS MOST OFTEN MENTIONED AS BOUNDARIES
BY STREET NUMBER/BOUNDARY AND FREQUENCY

	FREQUENCY				
Street Name	N	S	E	W	Totals
13th Street			85	1	86
Railroad Ave.			23	12	35
20th Street			14	12	26
24th Street			24	44	68
25th Street			14	15	29
27th Street			20	7	27
28th Street			19	5	24
30th Street			35	38	73
36th Street			9	67	76
39th Street			4	11	15
42nd Street			3	12	15
"L" Street	44	5			49
"Q" Street	78	9			87
"U" Street	2	12			14
"W" Street	7	19			26
"Y" Street	10	30			40
Harrison Street	51	73			124
Chandler Street	9	69			78
Childs Street	2	8			10

Figure 2.--Neighborhood Boundaries



fifth and Twenty-eighth Streets) but they were adjacent to a major thoroughfare that was mentioned more often. Such streets were included with the major street. The fifteen neighborhoods and their boundaries are listed in Table III.

The data showed a definite pattern for neighborhoods. The overall picture for the study area is one of strong North and South boundaries. This would be consistent with the settlement pattern for Omaha. Since the Missouri River formed a natural barrier on the east, the city's settlement progressed from east to west. Thus streets that consituted major transportation routes are east-west streets. There is more variation in the east-west boundaries, as can be seen in the frequency count of streets mentioned as boundaries.

The streets mentioned most often as neighborhood boundaries usually were major thoroughfares, or were adjacent to railroad lines; industrial tracts; or expanses of open space. Next most frequently mentioned were streets that were within a block or two of the major streets.

Neighboring Practices

The neighboring practices scale consisted of thirteen items in Section 3 of the Interview Schedule. Each respondent was given a score on this instrument. From the individual scores a mean score was calculated for each neighborhood group. The highest possible score was 52. The mean score for the entire sample was 29.71. Mean scores for the fifteen neighborhoods ranged from 24.75 to 41.00.

TABLE III

NEIGHBORHOODS BY NUMBER AND BOUNDARIES

Neighborhood #	No. Interviewed:	Boundaries:
6	8	Harrison & "Z" Sts. Railroad & 24th
4	19	"Y" & "Q" 30th & 36th
3	63	"Y" & "Q" 27th & 30th
8	32	Harrison & "Y" 31st & 36th
1	94	"L" & "Y" 13th & 24th
2	14	"L" & "W" 24th & 25th
12	26	Chandler & Harrison 30th & 36th
7	31	Harrison & "Z" 25th & 30th
13	8	Chandler & Emeline 37th & 42nd
5	21	Harrison & "Z" 13th & Railroad Ave.
10	21	Chandler & Harrison 22nd & Sarpy Ave.
11	14	Chandler & Harrison Sarpy Ave. & 30th
9	13	Chandler & Harrison 13th & 21st
15	9	Childs & Chandler Sarpy Ave. & 39th
14	5	Childs & Chandler 23rd & Sarpy Ave.

Table IV shows the neighborhood scores in rank order from low to high. When plotted on a map, the scores formed a pattern reminiscent of the concentric patterns found by Burgess in Chicago. In the case of Omaha, they ranged from low in the north to high in the south of the study area. The highest scores were in neighborhoods entirely outside the city limits (Figure 3).

Since the neighborhoods with the highest scores on the neighboring practices scale are those outside the city limits, and those with the lowest scores tend to be closer to the city's central core, an urban-suburban difference can be implied. An attitude which may be fairly typical of urban residents was expressed by a respondent who told the interviewer that he liked his neighborhood because "everyone minds his own business and doesn't bother anyone else".

The suburban neighborhood, on the other hand, may be organized around a specific institution such as a school. The presence of a single socio-economic structure for such neighborhoods, with the emphasis on child rearing, could help account for the higher incidence of neighboring found in the suburbs.

Use of Area Facilities

Table V presents the data from Section 2 of the Interview Schedule relating to the use of area facilities. A percentage of the activities occurring inside the neighborhood was calculated from the responses to questions about the location of places of entertainment, work, schools, shopping, churches, informal clubs, and residence of close friends and relatives.

TABLE IV

NEIGHBORING PRACTICES SCORES BY NEIGHBORHOOD

Neighborhood #:	Number interviewed	Boundaries	Mean of neighboring practices scores:
6	8	"Z" & Harrison Railroad and 24th	24.75
4	19	"Q" & "Y" 30th & 36th	25.95
3	63	"Q" & "Y" 27th & 30th	26.02
8	32	"Y" & Harrison 31st & 36th	27.41
1	94	"L" & "Y" 13th & 24th	27.47
2	14	"L" & "W" 24th & 25th	27.50
12	26	Harrison & Chandler 30th & 36th	29.61
7	31	"Z" & Harrison 25th & 30th	29.87
13	8	Emeline & Chandler 37th & 42nd	30.63
5	21	"Z" & Harrison 13th & Railroad Ave.	31.52
10	21	Harrison & Chandler 22nd & Sarpy Ave.	31.71
11	14	Harrison & Chandler Sarpy Ave. & 30th	31.79
9	13	Harrison & Chandler 13th & 21st	32.61
15	9	Chandler & Childs Sarpy Ave. & 39th	34.11
14	5	Chandler & Childs 23rd & Sarpy Ave.	41.00

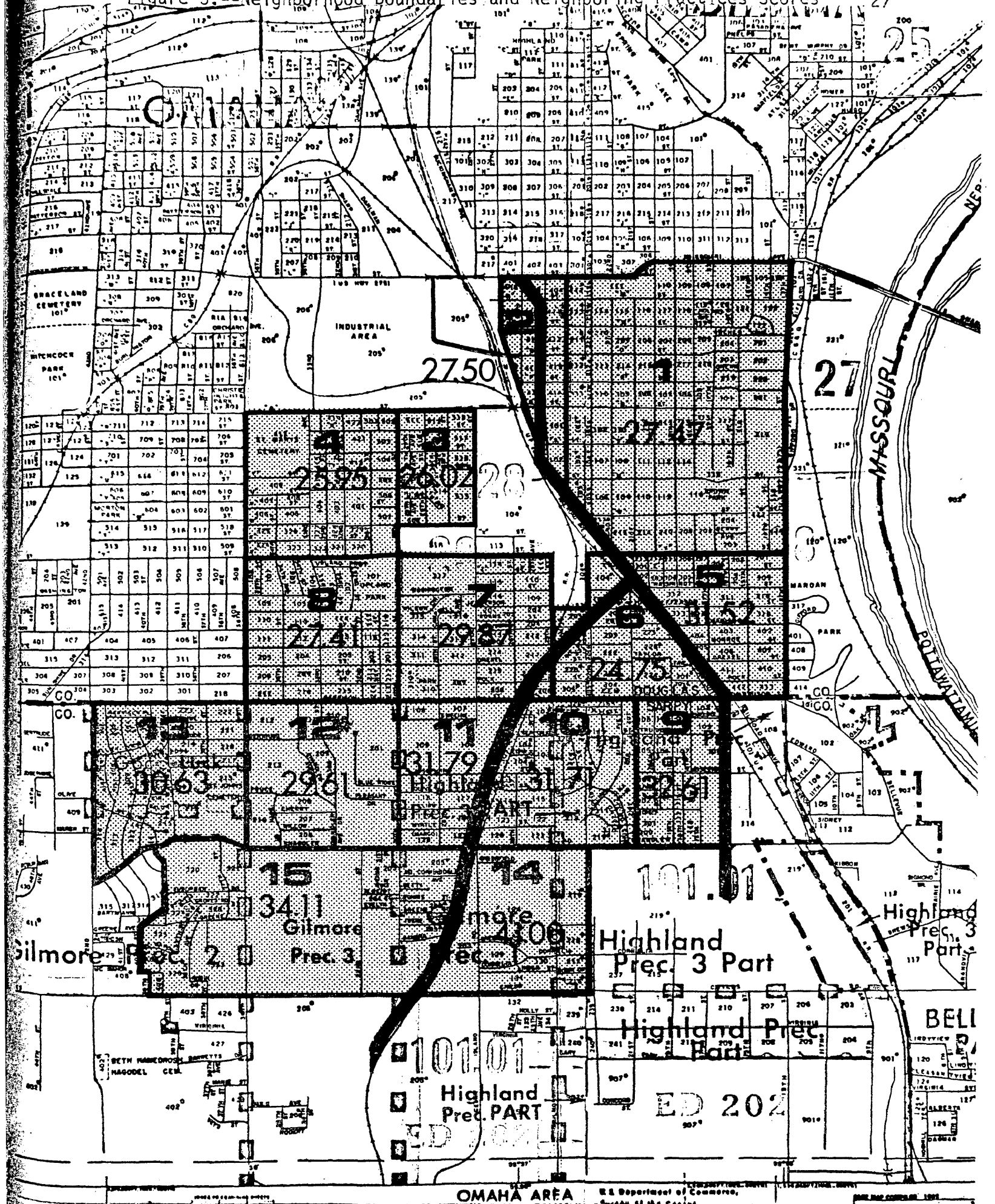

27.50
25.95
26.02
27.47
27.41
29.87
24.75
B1.52
30.63
29.86
31.79
32.61
34.11
Gilmore
Prec. 3
Highland
Prec. 3 Part
Highland Prec. Part
Highland Prec. PART
101.01
INDUSTRIAL AREA
GRACELAND CEMETERY
HITCHCOCK PARK
MISSOURI
POTTAWATTAMIE
MAROAN PARK
DOUGLAS
CO.
OMAHA AREA

TABLE V

USE OF FACILITIES BY NEIGHBORHOOD

Neighborhoods	N	Employment	Shopping (except grocery)	Entertainment	Grocery Shopping	School	Church	Friends	Relatives	Informal Clubs
1	94	8.00 99	32.5 196	21.50 84	42.00 107	30.00 66	68.00 76	74.00 91	37.00 95	59.00 34
2	14									
3	63	26.00 34	2.50 85	17.00 46	76.00 63	 35	29.00 31	69.00 48	21.00 42	86.00 7
4	19	 21	 31	12.50 16	50.00 18	50.00 12	62.00 13	72.00 18	14.00 14	50.00 4
5	21	 26	 52	 30	21.00 28	8.00 12	13.00 23	50.00 24	12.00 24	8.00 13
6	8									
7	30	2.00 32	 56	 28	3.00 31	17.00 18	15.00 20	74.00 27	53.00 19	 4
8	32	 45	 64	5.00 40	41.00 32	5.00 22	 26	67.00 27	10.00 30	 10
9	12	 14	 25	 17	 13	 11	 8	73.00 11	55.00 11	 4
10	21	 32	2.00 62	3.00 33	 35	23.00 26	8.00 24	60.00 25	39.00 23	12.00 8
11	14									
12	26	 35	 47	 28	35.00 26	23.00 22	18.00 17	62.00 24	12.00 17	 4
13	8	 9	 13	 13	 8	66.00 9	38.00 8	66.00 6	43.00 7	 2
14	5	 17	 25	 15	 13	100.00 13	54.00 13	92.00 13	62.00 8	8.00 13
15	9									

TABLE V should be read as follows:
In Neighborhood 3, with a total of 63 respondents, 34 places of employment were mentioned. Of these 26% were inside the neighborhood.

In general it appeared that neighborhoods are not important locations for employment or for major shopping. Only three of the neighborhoods registered any percentage in these categories. Neighborhood Three, for example, shows that 25 percent of the respondents were employed within the neighborhood. This neighborhood is the location of a public housing project, and consists largely of welfare recipients. It is also the site of a number of poverty programs. Neighborhoods One and Two show that 32.50 percent of the respondents shopped within the neighborhood. This may be because the neighborhood is large and includes a large business district.

Entertainment occurred within some of the neighborhoods, but the percentages were not high. They ranged from 2 to 21 percent. Grocery shopping more often was done in the neighborhood, with six neighborhoods showing over 20 percent. Some of these percentages may simply be indications of what facilities are available in the neighborhood, or of the availability of transporation. They may also be related to population characteristics, such as age or marital status. School attendance in the neighborhood varied from 3.50 percent to 88.50 percent, with Neighborhoods Three and Nine indicating no school attendance in the neighborhood. This may be explained by pointing out that Neighborhood Three is the location of a public housing project, and has no school within its boundaries. Neighborhood Nine contains an elementary school within its boundaries, but the sample there had fewer children (child/adult ratio .68) and a higher mean age (45.7) and so may reflect only high school attendance or private school

attendance. While percentages were calculated for informal social group memberships the number of respondents indicating such membership was quite small, (about 30 percent of the entire sample), so that neighborhood comparisons may not be meaningful. The percentage of the neighborhood samples having close friends in the neighborhood varies from 50 to 90 percent. Those having relatives in the neighborhood ranged from 10 to 62 percent. These were the only two categories in which every neighborhood was represented.

Membership in school and church organizations was minimal for the sample as a whole. Only 83 of the 379 respondents (21.89 percent) indicated that they belonged to any church groups, and 75 (19.78 percent) indicated membership in school-related organizations. These responses were so small that neighborhood percentages could not be established.

Neighborhood Attachment

Four questions in Section Four of the Interview Schedule were designed to assess the degree of pride in, and attachment to, the neighborhood. The questions, and the choice of answers are as follows:

4.1 In general, how do you feel about your neighborhood as a place to live?

I really don't care one way or the other____(1).....
It's all right I suppose_____(2).....
A pretty good place to live_____(3).....
Best place I can think of_____(4).....

4.2 How do you compare your neighborhood now with the way it was ten years ago?

More desirable_____(4).....
About the same_____(3).....
Not as desirable_____(2).....
Didn't live here_____(1).....

4.3 How do you picture your neighborhood ten years from now?

More desirable_____(4).....
Less desirable_____(3).....
About the same_____(2).....
Don't plan to live here_____(1).....

4.4 If you were to move from this address, would you prefer to move to:

Some other place in the neighborhood_____(4).....
Somewhere else in South Omaha_____(3).....
Somewhere else in Omaha_____(2).....
Outside of Omaha_____(1).....

The answers to each question were tabulated, and the percentage of responses falling into each category was figured. Each neighborhood also was given a mean score for each question. Tables VI through IX present the results of this analysis.

Most of the sample thought their neighborhood was either the "best place I can think of to live," (32.63 percent) or "a pretty good place to live" (38.16 percent) (Table VI). When the sample was divided into neighborhood groups there was considerable variation between neighborhoods. They ranged from those having all replies in the categories "best place I can think of" and "a pretty good place to live" to those with most of the replies in the "it's all right I suppose" and the "I don't really care" categories.

In reply to Question 4.2 (How do you compare your neighborhood now

TABLE VI

Question 4.1 In general, how do you feel about your neighborhood as a place to live?

Neighborhood	Best place I can think of	A pretty good place to live	It's all right I suppose	I really don't care	No** Answer	Mean* Score
Totals	124 32.63%	145 38.16%	75 19.74%	33 8.68%	3 .79%	
1	34 35.2	35 37.2	20 21.3	5 5.3		3.15
2	5 35.7	5 35.7	4 28.6			3.07
3	11 17.5	15 24.0	18 28.6	18 28.6	1 1.6	2.29
4	9 47.4	7 36.8	2 10.5	1 5.2	1 5.2	3.26
5	10 48.6	7 33.3	4 19.1			3.29
6	1 12.5	2 25.0	4 50.0	1 12.5		2.37
7	4 12.9	15 48.4	6 19.4	6 19.4		2.55
8	6 18.7	16 50.0	7 21.9	3 9.4		2.78
9	11 84.6	1 7.7				3.77
10	2 9.5	14 66.7	4 19.0	1 4.8		2.62
11	6 42.9	7 50.0	1 7.1			3.36
12	11 42.3	13 50.0	2 7.7			3.35
13	2 25.0	4 50.0	2 25.0			3.00
14	4 80.0	1 20.0				3.80
15	6 66.7	3 33.3				3.66

* To find mean e.g. for neighborhood (1); (10x4) + (7x3) + (2x2) + (1x1)=66
66/n of neighborhood, thus 66/20=3.30

** The figures under "no answer" were put in the category of "unfavorable."

with the way it was ten years ago?), a high percentage of the total sample (41.5 percent) could not compare their neighborhood with the way it was ten years ago because at that time they were not living there. Most of the neighborhood groups had more than 25 percent of the responses in the "didn't live here then" category (Table VII). Very few of the replies to this question were in the "not as desirable" category; most were in the "same" or "more desirable" categories.

Only 16 percent of the sample responding to Question 4.3 (How do you picture your neighborhood ten years from now?) thought their neighborhood would be more desirable in ten years (Table VIII). Neighborhoods in this category ranged from 3 percent to 75 percent. Neighborhoods Nine and Thirteen were exceptions, with 75 percent and 63 percent of the responses in this category. Nineteen percent of the total sample thought their neighborhood would not change much over the next ten years; neighborhood percentages ranged from 0 to 38 percent for this category. The answers to these questions seem to indicate a general willingness to move that may be more closely related to other variables such as age or class rather than to neighborhood attachment.

More than 37 percent of the total sample indicated that they would prefer to move outside of Omaha (Table IX). The neighborhood groups did not reflect a strong desire on the part of the residents to stay in the neighborhoods; most indicated that they would prefer to move outside the city. The answers to this question may indicate attitudes toward living in an urban situation, rather than toward the neighborhood itself. It is also possible that the percentage

TABLE VII

Question 4.2 How do you compare your neighborhood with the way it was ten years ago?

Neighborhood	Didn't live here		Not as Desirable		Same.		More		No Opinion		Mean
Totals	158	41.58%	50	13.16%	102	26.84%	66	17.37%	4	1.05%	
1	25	25	23	21	36	33	21	19	1		2.39
2											2.92
3	35	56	10	16	14	22	4	6			1.79
4	8	40	2	10	6	30	3	15	1	5	2.10
5	13	45	3	10	8	28	5	17			2.00
6											2.24
7	15	48	5	16	6	19	5	16			2.03
8	13	41	5	16	9	28	4	13	1	3	2.06
9					5	42	7	58			3.58
10	19	56			9	26	6	18			1.66
11											2.57
12	14	54			5	19	6	23	1	4	2.04
13	4	50			1	13	3	38			2.38
14	9	64	1	7	2	14	2	14			1.60
15											1.88

TABLE VIII

Question 4.3 How do you picture your neighborhood ten years from now?

Neighborhood	Don't plan to be here		Less Desirable		Same		More Desirable		No Opinion		Mean
Totals	88	23.22%	138	36.41%	74	19.52%	62	16.32%	18	4.75%	
1	16	15	27	25	45	42	10	9	10	9	2.16
2											2.28
3	19	30	22	35	18	29	2	3	2	3	1.99
4	4	20	1	5	7	35	6	30	2	10	2.45
5	11	38	4	14	9	31	3	10	2	7	2.36
6											1.72
7	7	23	4	13	12	39	7	23	1	3	2.55
8	11	34	7	22	8	25	6	19			2.27
9	1	8			2	17	9	75			3.58
10	9	26	5	15	13	38	6	18	1	3	2.00
11											2.57
12	7	27	2	8	15	58	2	8			2.46
13					3	38	5	63			3.62
14	3	21	4	29	2	14	5	36			2.20
15											2.88

TABLE IX

Question 4.4 If you were to move from this address, would you prefer to move to:

Neighborhood	Some other Place in Neighborhood		Somewhere else in South Omaha		Somewhere Else in Omaha		Outside of Omaha		No Opinion		Mean
Totals	48	12.63%	100	26.32%	67	17.63%	143	37.63%	22	5.79%	
1	19	18	31	29	16	15	33	31	9	8	2.14
2											2.50
3	5	8	20	32	12	19	21	33	5	8	1.98
4	3	15	6	30	6	30	4	20	1	5	2.30
5	2	7	11	38	4	14	11	38	1	3	2.37
6											1.95
7	6	19	11	35	4	13	10	32			2.42
8	3	9	10	31	9	28	10	31			2.19
9	2	17	3	25	1	8	4	33	2	17	1.92
10	5	15	2	6	8	24	18	53	1	3	1.62
11											2.00
12	1	4	5	19	4	15	15	58	1	4	1.62
13					2	25	5	63	1	13	1.12
14			1	7			11	78	2	14	1.00
15											1.00

expressing a preference for remaining in Omaha may be related to social variables such as occupation, ethnic ties, or kinship.

Only Question 4.1 (How do you feel about your neighborhood as a place to live?) seemed to be relatively free of intervention by other variables. Therefore, only the scores from this question were used in the neighborhood profiles as measures of neighborhood attachment.

NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILES

Finally, all the pertinent data were compiled into a profile for each neighborhood. The statistical descriptions of the neighborhoods were formed from the demographic data gathered in the interviews coupled with the neighborhood characteristics measured. These descriptions are summarized in Table X.

Neighborhood One:

Respondents in the sample from this neighborhood were among the oldest in the study area. Mean age was 51.40 years. The child/adult ratio was one of the lowest (.56), and the mean number of persons per household (1.15) indicated little crowding. While only 64 percent of the homes were owner-occupied, the mean length of residence (12.3 years) was one of the highest. Forty-four percent of the sample identified themselves with white ethnic groups and 10.60 percent identified with minority groups. The neighboring practices score was in the low range (27.47), and attachment to the neighborhood was 3.15. The neighborhood was the location for 38.08 percent of the social activities mentioned by the respondents.

Response to questions pertaining to neighborhood attachment showed that, although residents were generally satisfied with the neighborhood as a place to live, most of them were not optimistic about its future. Thirty-one percent responded that they would prefer to move outside of Omaha given the choice of where to relocate.

Percent Against Highway	Mean Years of Residence	Percent Home Owned	Child/ Adult Ratio	Persons Per Household	Mean Age (Years)	Age Range (Years)	Percent White Ethnic[1]	Percent Minority Group[2]
53.00	12.30	64.00	.56	3.15	51.40	65	44.00	10.60
29.00	12.90	57.00	.31	2.43	55.00	62	15.00	28.60
61.90	5.90	29.00	1.27	3.54	44.10	67	4.76	44.40
52.60	11.50	74.00	.88	3.58	48.20	63	21.10	15.80
34.00	11.60	81.00	.42	2.76	49.90	53	38.00	5.00
12.50	9.70	62.00	1.13	4.25	42.60	61	12.50	25.00
45.10	8.20	52.00	.78	3.45	42.60	51	29.00	29.00
53.10	9.40	84.00	.67	3.66	41.30	46	31.20	6.20
46.00	11.40	85.00	.68	3.62	45.70	52	61.00	
52.00	3.70	76.00	1.10	4.05	29.80	32	21.00	
29.00	9.30	79.00	.90	4.07	40.40	44	65.00	
34.60	6.80	69.00	.80	3.81	35.80	68	15.40	
37.50	6.60	88.00	.83	5.50	38.60	34	12.50	
40.00	2.50	100.00	1.40	4.80	33.80	16		
56.00	6.60	100.00	.91	4.88	44.60	50	14.00	

a nationality group such as Czech, German, Bohemian, etc.
Indian, Mexican.

TABLE X

NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILES

No.	Neighborhoods Boundaries	N*	Neighboring Practices Scores	Percent of Activities Inside Neighborhood	Neighborhood Attachment Scores
1.	"L" & "Y" 13th & 24th	94	27.47	38.08	3.14
2.	"L" & "W" 24th & 25th	14	27.50	47.10	3.07
3.	"Q" & "Y" 27th & 30th	63	26.02	32.00	2.29
4.	"Q" & "Y" 30th & 36th	19	25.95	30.50	3.26
5.	"Z" & Harrison 13th & Railroad Ave.	21	31.52	23.70	3.29
6.	"Z" & Harrison Railroad & 24th	8	24.75	12.50	2.37
7.	"Z" & Harrison 25th & 30th	31	29.87	15.30	2.55
8.	"Y" & Harrison 31st & 36th	32	27.41	12.00	2.78
9.	Harrison & Chandler 13th & 21st	13	32.61	11.90	3.77
10.	Harrison & Chandler 22nd & Sarpy Ave.	21	31.71	24.10	2.62
11.	Harrison & Chandler Sarpy Ave. & 30th	14	31.79	24.20	3.36
12.	Harrison & Chandler 30th & 36th	26	29.61	14.50	3.35
13.	Emeline & Chandler 37th & 42nd	8	30.63	10.10	3.00
14.	Chandler & Childs 23rd & Sarpy Ave.	5	41.00	25.00	3.80
15.	Chandler & Childs Sarpy Ave. & 39th	9	34.11	17.10	3.66

(1) White ethnic refers to those respondents identifying themselves with
(2) Minority group refers to those identifying themselves as black, America

Neighborhood Two:

This neighborhood, located directly to the west of the proposed highway corridor, is similar to Neighborhood One. Mean age of those in the sample is slightly older (55). The child/adult ratio was low (.31) and there was an average of 2.54 persons per household. Fifty-seven percent of the homes in the sample were owner-occupied and the mean length of residence was 12.9 years. Twenty-eight percent of the sample was comprised of minority groups, and 15 percent identified themselves with white ethnic groups. Some 47 percent of the social activities occurred inside the neighborhood and cohesiveness was low (27.50). Neighborhood attachment was relatively high (3.07).

Neighborhood Three:

Neighborhood Three is the site of a low-rent public housing project. The sample from this neighborhood had the lowest percentage of owner-occupied housing (29). It also had the highest minority group representation (44.40 percent). The respondents' mean age was 44.10; they had lived in the neighborhood an average of 5.90 years. There were 3.54 persons per household and 1.27 children for every adult in the sample. Their neighboring practices score (26.02) was one of the lowest; the neighborhood attachment score (2.29) was the lowest; and 32 percent of the activities mentioned took place inside of the neighborhood. Almost 62 percent of the respondents were against the highway being built in their neighborhood. The majority of the respondents (57 percent) did not view their neighborhood as a desirable place to live, and only 17 percent thought it was the best place they could think of to live.

Fifty-six percent of the sample did not live in the neighborhood ten years ago, and only 6 percent viewed it as being more desirable than it was ten years ago. Thirty percent do not plan to be living in the neighborhood in ten years, and 3 percent viewed it as becoming more desirable over the next ten years. If they could move, 32 percent would stay in South Omaha, 19 percent elsewhere in Omaha, and 33 percent would move outside of Omaha. Eight percent would stay within the neighborhood.

Neighborhood Four:

The people of this sample has a mean age of 48.20; a child/adult ratio of .88, and a mean of 3.58 persons per household. The mean length of residence was one of the highest, 11.50 years; and 74 percent of the residents own their homes. The minority group representation of the sample was 15.80 percent, and 21.10 percent identified with an ethnic group. Neighborhood attachment was in the middle range (3.26) and the neighboring practices score was low (25.95). Thirty percent of the activities of residents occurred outside the neighborhood.

Over half of the respondents thought the neighborhood would remain stable or improve over the next ten years, and only 5 percent saw it deteriorating. Twenty percent do not plan to remain in the neighborhood. Only 20 percent would move out of Omaha if they could.

Neighborhood Five:

The sample from Neighborhood Five had a mean age of 49.9, a low child/adult ratio (.42) and a low crowding index (2.76 persons per household). The composition was 38 percent white ethnic and 5 percent ethnic groups. Owner-occupancy was 81 percent and the mean length of residence is relatively high (11.6). Neighborhood attachment was high (3.29) but few (23.70 percent) social and economic activities occur inside the neighborhood. The neighboring practices score (31.52) was above the sample mean. Thirty-four percent of the sample were against the highway.

About 72 percent of the sample saw the neighborhood as a desirable place to live now, while only 18 percent saw it as becoming more desirable in the future. Twenty-six percent did not plan to stay in the neighborhood. Given choices, 6 percent would prefer to locate in South Omaha, 24 percent elsewhere in Omaha, and 54.5 percent outside of Omaha. Fifteen percent would prefer to stay in the neighborhood.

Neighborhood Six:

The mean age of the sample from Neighborhood Six was 52.6 years, and the child/adult ratio was one of the highest (1.13). The mean number of persons per household was also high (4.25). Sixty-two percent of the homes were owner-occupied and the mean length of residence is 9.7 years. Twenty-five percent of the people in the sample identified themselves with minority groups and 12.50 percent with white ethnic. Very few of the social and economic activities mentioned (12.50 percent) took place inside the neighborhood, and the neighboring practices score was the lowest of all the neighborhoods (24.75). Neighborhood attachment was

also low (2.37).

Response to questions pertaining to neighborhood attachment on the survey questionnaire found in Appendix A indicated that the people in this sample found the neighborhood a satisfactory place to live, but 38 percent of these people did not intend to stay in the neighborhood. When asked where they would prefer to move; 38 percent preferred South Omaha; 39 percent wished to move out of Omaha; 14 percent would live elsewhere in Omaha, and only 7 percent would choose to remain in the neighborhood.

Neighborhood Seven:

The mean age of the sample from Neighborhood Seven was 42.6. The child/adult ratio was .78 and the mean number of persons per household was 3.45. The owner-occupancy rate was 52 percent and the mean length of residence was 8.2 years. The composition of the sample was 29 percent white ethnic, 29 percent minority group and 42 percent white American. Fifteen percent of the social and economic activities occurred inside the neighborhood. Neighborhood attachment was in the medium range (2.55), and the neighboring practices score was in the low range (29.87).

A definite majority (61 percent) considered the neighborhood desirable as a place to live. Fifty-two percent of the respondents viewed the neighborhood as either not changing much or becoming less desirable. Twenty-three percent did not plan to be in the neighborhood in ten years. Given a choice, only 32 percent would prefer to move

outside of Omaha, while 19 percent would prefer to remain in the neighborhood.

Neighborhood Eight:

The mean age of the Neighborhood Eight sample was 41.30 years. The child/adult ratio was .67 and there was a mean of 3.66 persons per household. The mean length of residence in the neighborhood was 9.40 years, with 84 percent of the homes being owner-occupied. Twelve percent of the social and economic activities of residents were inside the neighborhood. The neighborhood attachment and neighboring practices scores were both in the middle range, 2.78 and 27.41 respectively. Only 6.20 percent of the respondents were identified with a minority group, but ethnic groups comprised 31.20 percent of the sample.

Sixteen percent of the sample thought the neighborhood was less desirable than it was ten years ago, and 41 percent thought it was the same or had improved. Forty-one percent were not living in the neighborhood ten years ago. Fifty-four percent thought the neighborhood would stay the same or improve over the next ten years, and 22 percent thought it would become less desirable. Thirty-four percent did not plan to stay in the neighborhood. Thirty-one percent of the sample would move outside of Omaha, given a choice. The rest would relocate in Omaha, but of these only 9 percent would stay in the neighborhood.

Neighborhood Nine:

The sample from Neighborhood Nine consisted of 13 households west

of Highway 73-75. The mean age was 45.7, the child/adult ratio was .68, and the number of persons per household was 3.62. The mean years of residence was high (11.4), and the owner-occupancy rate was also high (85 percent). Sixty-one percent of the sample identified themselves with white ethnic groups, and the remaining 39 percent were white Americans. There were no minorities. A low (11.90) percentage of the social and economic activities occurred inside the neighborhood. Neighborhood attachment was high (3.77) and neighboring practices scores (32.61) were also in the high range.

Fully 83 percent of the Neighborhood Nine sample viewed their neighborhood as the "best place they could thing of" to live. Seventy-five percent thought that the neighborhood would be more desirable ten years from now. Given several options, 20 percent would prefer to remain in the neighborhood, 30 percent would locate in South Omaha, 10 percent elsewhere in Omaha and 40 percent outside of Omaha.

Neighborhood Ten:

Neighborhood Ten had the youngest population of the neighborhoods sampled. The mean age was 29.8. It had a high child/adult ratio (1.10) and a persons per household score in the high range (4.05). The owner-occupancy rate was 76 percent and the mean years of residence was low (3.7). Only 21 percent of the sample identified with any ethnic group and there were no minority groups in the sample. Eighty-four percent of the social and economic activities occurred inside the neighborhood. The neighboring practices score was relatively high (31.71), but neigh-

borhood attachment was rather low (2.62). Respondents were not optimistic about the future improvement of the neighborhood, although it was considered a desirable place to live. Twenty-six percent did not plan to be there in ten years. Given a choice, 54.4 percent would choose to move outside of Omaha.

Neighborhood Eleven:

The mean age for the Neighborhood Eleven sample was 40.4. The child/adult ratio was .90, and the mean persons per household 4.07. Neither of these are extremely high by comparison with the other neighborhoods. The owner-occupancy rate was 79 percent and the mean length of residence was 9.3 years. Neighborhood attachment was 3.36, which is in the high range, and the neighboring practices score (31.79) was moderately high. Twenty-four percent of the social and economic activities were inside the neighborhood. There was no minority group representation in the sample, but 65 percent of the sample identified with ethnic groups.

The neighborhood was viewed as a good place to live, but not much improvement was envisioned for the future. Fifteen percent of the respondents would prefer to remain in the neighborhood if given a choice of locations.

Neighborhood Twelve:

In Neighborhood Twelve, the mean age of the residents was low, 35.80 years. The child/adult ratio was .80 and the number of persons

per household averaged 3.81. The mean length of residence was 6.80 years and 69.00 percent of the homes were owner-occupied. There was no minority group representation, but 15.40 percent indicated identification with an ethnic group. The neighboring practices score was in the middle range (29.61) as was the neighborhood attachment score (3.35). Nearly fifteen percent of the social and economic activities of residents occurred inside the neighborhood.

Fifty-four percent of the respondents did not live in the neighborhood ten years ago. Twenty-seven percent do not plan to stay in the neighborhood. While 23 percent saw the neighborhood as more desirable now than it was ten years ago, only 8 percent envisioned improvement over the next ten years. Fifty-eight percent would move outside of Omaha, and only 4 percent would remain in the neighborhood.

Neighborhood Thirteen:

The Neighborhood Thirteen sample showed a mean age of 38.60 years and a child/adult ratio of .83. The number of persons per household was the highest of the neighborhoods, 5.50. The mean years of residence in the neighborhood was 6.60 and 88 percent of the homes were owner-occupied. Ten percent of the social and economic activities occurred inside the neighborhood, and neighborhood attachment and neighboring practices scores were both in the middle range, 3.00 and 30.63 respectively.

Although 50 percent of the respondents did not live in the neighborhood ten years ago, 38 percent viewed it as more desirable than it

was then. Sixty three percent of the sample thought the neighborhood would be more desirable in ten years, and 38 percent thought it would remain the same. None thought it would be less desirable or were planning to move. Sixty-three percent would move outside of Omaha given a choice. None would move within the neighborhood or within the South Omaha area.

Neighborhood Fourteen:

The Neighborhood Fourteen sample has a mean age of 33.8, a child/adult ratio of 1.40 and a mean of 4.80 persons per household. The resident population could be characterized as young, with larger families. The mean length of residence was 2.5 years, and the owner-occupancy was 100 percent. There was no ethnic identification or minority group representation. Neighborhood attachment was low (2.15) but cohesiveness was quite high (41.00). Twenty-five percent of the activities occurred inside the neighborhood. The view of the neighborhood was favorable, but its future is viewed with some ambivalence.

Neighborhood Fifteen:

The mean age of the sample from Neighborhood fifteen was 44.6. There was a child/adult ratio of .91 and a mean of 4.88 persons per household. The homes were 100 percent owner-occupied, and the mean length of residence was 6.6 years. Seventeen percent of the social and economic activities were inside the neighborhood and cohesiveness was high (34.11), but neighborhood attachment (2.36) was in the middle

range. There was no minority group element, and only 14 percent identified with some ethnic group.

All of the sample thought the neighborhood was either a pretty good place to live or the best place to live. There was a mixed view of the future of the neighborhood, with 36 percent viewing it as becoming more desirable, 14 percent remaining the same, and 29 percent less desirable. Twenty-one percent didn't plan to be there in ten years. If they moved, 92 percent would prefer to move outside of Omaha.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Interviews were conducted with 379 residents of the South Omaha area. The respondents were asked to identify the streets they considered to be boundaries of their neighborhoods. While there was not complete agreement on the boundary definitions, the streets named most frequently formed boundaries for the fifteen neighborhoods described above. Upon further inspection it appeared that the streets which bounded neighborhoods were usually major thoroughfares, or were adjacent to some physical constraint such as a railroad track, cemetery, park, industrial area, or expanse of open space. The neighborhoods identified by the respondents varied in size. In the smaller neighborhoods there was more agreement on boundaries, and conversely, in the larger neighborhoods there was less agreement on boundaries. This suggests that the smaller geographic areas set off by physical barriers may be more easily identifiable as neighborhoods. That people cannot identify with a neighborhood in a large, densely populated area is suggested by the lack of agreement in the larger neighborhoods. Support for such a suggestion can be found in the work of Edward T. Hall (1966).

The group scores on the neighboring practices scale showed considerable variation between neighborhoods. The scores were lower in the neighborhoods closer to the central core of the city, and the highest in the neighborhoods on the fringe of the city. This progression resembles the concentric zone patterns of urban development found by

Park and Burgess (1925) and also supports Barger's (1968) findings for Omaha. This pattern may also imply urban-suburban differences.

In general, the respondents were employed outside the neighborhoods. Entertainment was not neighborhood-based. Most of the respondents went outside the neighborhood for movies, bowling, and other types of entertainment. While informal clubs existed in some of the neighborhoods, membership was small, suggesting that such groups may not constitute significant networks of social relationships within neighborhoods.

The over-all significance of the neighborhood school as a factor in the network of neighborhood social relationships may be limited. Attendance at a neighborhood school was a factor present only in some of the neighborhoods, and the percentages varied greatly, suggesting that school attendance within the neighborhood was related to the number and ages of children and the presence of a school within the neighborhood boundaries.

Churches appeared to figure more prominently in the social life of the neighborhood than other institutions. While the percentages varied greatly, and church group membership was small, most neighborhoods showed neighborhood-based church membership and attendance.

The percentage of respondents having close friends in the neighborhood was large for all neighborhoods. The percentage of the respondents indicating they had relatives within the neighborhood was not as large. However, some respondents in all neighborhoods indicated the presence of relatives in the neighborhood. The pervasiveness do these networks of friendship and kin relationships suggests that they

are fundamental to the functioning of neighborhoods.

Generally, the neighborhoods examined seemed to exist more as the locations for social and kin relationships that as bases for institutional functions such as work, or education. The church was probably the most important traditional neighborhood-based institution. The school may be as important, however its significance to a neighborhood is probably related to the population composition of the neighborhood.

Compilation of a profile for each neighborhood resulted in a more complete view of the neighborhoods. The addition of a set of demographic and social attributes to the measures of neighboring practices, neighborhood attachment, and use of local facilities allowed comparisons to be made. The differences, as well as the similarities between neighborhoods, suggested many possible relationships that were not previously considered in the study. The major conclusions that could have implications for further study are as follows:

(1) People can, to a degree, define the boundaries of their neighborhoods. However, the amount of consensus appears to depend on the size of the area, the population density, and its separation (determined by physical constraints) from other neighborhoods.

(2) The more homogeneous neighborhoods had higher scores on the neighboring practices scale. Thus, it could be hypothesized that there is a relationship between homogeneity of population and neighborhood solidarity.

(3) Neighboring practices scores were lower in neighborhoods having higher percentages of racial and ethnic groups represented. Thus

the presence of racial and ethnic groups may be inversely related to neighborhood solidarity and cohesiveness, as measured by the study.

(4) Neither employment in the neighborhood, nor the presence of services (such as shopping and places for entertainment and recreation) seemed to be factors important to social unity in the neighborhood.

These conclusions, while based on data from a relatively small sample, do suggest possibilities for further study and encourage speculation about previously unexplored areas. They give partial support to planners who rely on the arrangement of spatial and physical elements to promote social contacts. Limited geographic areas coupled with relative isolation do seem to make it easier to identify with a neighborhood. But social cohesiveness and solidarity within neighborhoods appears to be based on social structures designed to promote social action. The existence of kinship, ethnic and friendship networks within the neighborhood is but one force for social unity. Institutional frameworks (such as churches and schools), with their traditional neighborhood-based mechanisms for social action, were also strong unifying factors. Other institutional frameworks providing neighborhood groups with opportunities for meaningful social action were conspicuously absent. The ward boss, or the policeman on the neighborhood beat, formerly mechanisms for communication between neighborhood residents and higher institutional levels, no longer exist. That there is a need for such communication and social action can be demonstrated by the proliferation in recent years of neighborhood associations and community councils.

These associations, which concentrate on such problems as social

control, health and safety, and neighborhood improvement appear to be attempts to re-establish social action and solidarity at the neighborhood level, and would tend to indicate a functional need for neighborhoods to pull together around specific problems. Further research in this area would be illuminating.

The study also indicated that integration of dissimilar racial, ethnic, and cultural groups within the neighborhood did not contribute to social solidarity. Evidence for this can be seen in the lower cohesiveness found in neighborhoods having higher percentages of racial and ethnic groups. There also may be a point beyond which any dissimilar groupd can not be added to a neighborhood without contributing to a breakdown in solidarity. Looking at the neighboring practices scores, which decrease as the racial and ethnic percentages increase, seems to support this hypothesis. If the integration of dissimilar groups is a primary goal, social solidarity for a time may have to be secondary. Further research in this area could give a firmer foundation to social planning and the formulation of social policy, as well as contribute to knowledge of the integration process among minority groups.

APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

The Questionnaire

NEIGHBORHOOD COHESIVENESS SURVEY

Section 1.

				Answer Code	Column Number
1.1	Respondent:	Male	(0)	.....	.....
		Female	(1)	.....	.....
1.2	Position in household:	Head	(2)	.....	.....
		Spouse of head	(1)	.....	.....
		Other Adult	(0)	.....	.....
1.3	Present Address: _____	Own	(1)	.....	.....
		Rent	(0)	.....	.....
1.4	Number in household:	Adults_____		.....	.....
		Children_____		.....	.....
1.5	How long at this address:	Less than 6 mo.	(0)	.....	.....
		6 mo to 1 yr.	(1)	.....	.....
		1 to 5 yrs.	(2)	.....	.....
		5+ yrs.	(3)	.....	.....
1.6	Previous address: _____			.....	.....
1.7	Race or nationality: _____			.....	.....
1.8	What is your neighborhood called: _____			.....	.....
1.9	Can you name the streets which you feel are the boundaries of your neighborhood?				
	North_____			.....	.....
	South_____			.....	.....
	East_____			.....	.....
	West_____			.....	.....

Section 2.

The most important information to be obtained from this section is the locations on the map.

References to neighborhood in this section refer to the area designated by the respondent in Section 1.

2.1 Where do members of your household work? (Spot on map)

		Answer Code	Column Number
2.2 How do they get to work?	Family car	.....	.....
	Car pool	.....	.....
	Taxi	.....	.....
	Bus	.....	.....
	Walk	.....	.....
	Other	.....	.....

2.3 Where did you make your last major clothing purchase? (spot on map)

		Answer Code	Column Number
2.4 How did you get there?	Family car	.....	.....
	Car pool	.....	.....
	Taxi	.....	.....
	Bus	.....	.....
	Walk	.....	.....
	Other	.....	.....

2.5 Where was your last grocery order of more than $10 purchased? (spot on map)

		Answer Code	Column Number
2.6 How did you get there?	Family car	.....	.....
	Car pool	.....	.....
	Taxi	.....	.....
	Bus	.....	.....
	Walk	.....	.....
	Other	.....	.....

2.7 Have you purchased a major appliance in the last six months?	Yes	(1)	.....	.....
	No	(0)	.....	.....

2.8 Where was your last major appliance purchase made? (Spot on map)

Section 2 (continued).			Answer Code	Column Number
2.9 Is the church you attend in your present neighborhood?	Yes	(2)	.....	.....
Name_____	No	(1)	.....	.....
	Don't attend church usually	(0)	.....	.....
2.10 Do you have children in school?	Yes	(1)	.....	.....
	No	(0)	.....	.....
2.11 What are the names of the schools they attend? (Spot on map)				
_____				
_____				
2.12 How do they get there?	Family car		.....	.....
	Car pool		.....	.....
	Taxi		.....	.....
	Bus		.....	.....
	Walk		.....	.....
	Other		.....	.....
2.13 What are the names of parks, if any, which you use? (Spot on map)				
(1)_____				
How often do you visit there?	Once a week	(3)	.....	.....
	Once a month	(2)	.....	.....
	Twice a month	(1)	.....	.....
	Less than 6 times a year	(0)	.....	.....
(2)_____				
How often to you visit there?	Once a week	(3)	.....	.....
	Once a month	(2)	.....	.....
	Twice a month	(1)	.....	.....
	Less than 6 times a year	(0)	.....	.....
(3)_____				
How often do you visit there?	Once a week	(3)	.....	.....
	Once a month	(2)	.....	.....
	Twice a month	(1)	.....	.....
	Less than 6 times a year	(0)	.....	.....
2.14 What is the name of the library, if any, you use most frequently? (Spot on map)				
_____			.....	.....

Section 2 (continued).

		Answer Code	Column Number
2.15	Do you ever go out for entertainment such as attending a movie, going bowling, or dancing?		
	Yes (1)	.....	.....
	No (0)	.....	.....
	What do you do?_____		
	Where is it located?_____ (Spot on map)		
	About how often do you go there?		
	More than once a week	.....	.....
	Once a week	.....	.....
	About once a month	.....	.....
	Less than once a month	.....	.....
2.16	Where do relatives you see most regularly live? (Spot on map) _____		
	How often do you visit them?		
	More than once a week	.....	.....
	Once a week	.....	.....
	About once a month	.....	.....
	Less than once a month	.....	.....
2.17	Where do your best neighborhood friends live? (Spot on map)		
	(1)_____		
	How often do you visit them?		
	More than once a week	.....	.....
	Once a week	.....	.....
	About once a month	.....	.....
	Less than once a month	.....	.....
	(Spot on map)		
	(2)_____		
	How often do you visit them?		
	More than once a week	.....	.....
	Once a week	.....	.....
	About once a month	.....	.....
	Less than once a month	.....	.....

Section 2 (continued).

2.18 Do you belong to a church group of any kind in your neighborhood, such as a Ladies' Aid or Sunday school class, mission committee, or a mothers' club or a men's club?

		Answer Code	Column Number
Yes	(1)	.....	.....
No	(0)	.....	.....

List organizations and offices held:
(Spot on map)

Name_____	(1)	.....	.....
Offices held now_____	(3)	.....	.....
Name_____	(1)	.....	.....
Offices held now_____	(3)	.....	.....
Name_____	(1)	.....	.....
Offices held now_____	(3)	.....	.....
Name_____	(1)	.....	.....
Offices held now_____	(3)	.....	.....

Attendance at meetings:			
Always attend	(3)	.....	.....
Usually attend	2)	.....	.....
Rarely attend	(1)	.....	.....
Never attend	(0)	.....	.....

2.19 Do you belong to a school club, such as a Parent-Teacher Association, or a mothers' club, or some other school organization in your neighborhood?

Yes	(1)	.....	.....
No	(0)	.....	.....

List organizations and offices held:
(Spot on map)

Name_____	(1)	.....	.....
Offices held now_____	(3)	.....	.....
Name_____	(1)	.....	.....
Offices held now_____	(3)	.....	.....
Name_____	(1)	.....	.....
Offices held now_____	(3)	.....	.....
Name_____	(1)	.....	.....
Offices held now_____	(3)	.....	.....

Attendance at meetings:			
Always attend	(3)	.....	.....
Usually attend	(2)	.....	.....
Rarely attend	(1)	.....	.....
Never attend	(0)	.....	.....

Section 2 (continued).			Answer Code	Column Number
2.20 Do you belong to a local improvement association?	Yes	(1)	.....	.....
	No	(0)	.....	.....
2.21 Do you belong to any informal social club or group, such as a bridge club, gymnasium class, dancing club, sewing club, or any similar organization in the neighborhood?	Yes	(1)	.....	.....
	No	(0)	.....	.....
What is its name and activity? (Spot on map)				
Name_____			.....	.....
Activity_____			.....	.....
Name_____			.....	.....
Activity_____			.....	.....

Section 3.

The following items pertain to those who live within the previously designated neighborhood boundaries but also with two blocks of respondents' residence.

			Answer Code	Column Number
3.1	About how many of the people in your neighborhood do you say "Hello" or "Good morning" to when you meet on the street?	None	(0)	.....
		1 to 3	(1)	.....
		3 to 6	(2)	.....
		6 to all, most	(3)	.....
3.2	How many of the names of the families in your neighborhood do you know?	None	(0)	.....
		1 to 3	(1)	.....
		4 to 6	(2)	.....
		6 +	(3)	.....
3.3	About how often do you chat or "visit" with your neighbors?	Never	(0)	.....
		Rarely	(1)	.....
		Sometimes	(2)	.....
		Often	(3)	.....
3.4	How many of your neighbors' homes have you ever been in?	None	(0)	.....
		1 to 3	(1)	.....
		3 to 6	(2)	.....
		6 +	(3)	.....
3.5	Do you and your neighbors exchange things, such as books, magazines, patterns, recipes, jellies, jams, preserves, suggestions, tools, dishes, seeds, plant clippings, or any other similar things?	Never	(0)	.....
		Rarely	(1)	.....
		Sometimes	(2)	.....
		Often	(3)	.....
3.6	Do you and your neighbors exchange favors or services, such as receiving parcels, telephone messages, or other similar favors?	Never	(0)	.....
		Rarely	(1)	.....
		Sometimes	(2)	.....
		Often	(3)	.....

Section 3 (continued).

			Answer Code	Column Number
3.7	Do you and your neighbors entertain one another?	Never	(0)	.....
		Rarely	(1)	.....
		Sometimes	(2)	.....
		Often	(3)	.....
3.8	If you were holding a party or tea for an out-of town visitor, how many of your neighbors would you invite?	None	(0)	.....
		1 to 3	(1)	.....
		3 to 6	(2)	.....
		6 + most, all	(3)	.....
3.9	Do your neighbors ever talk over their problems with you or ask you for advice or help?	Never	(0)	.....
		Rarely	(1)	.....
		Sometimes	(2)	.....
		Often	(3)	.....
3.10	Do you and your neighbors ever go to the movies together?	Never	(0)	.....
		Rarely	(1)	.....
		Sometimes	(2)	.....
		Often	(3)	.....
3.11	Do you and your neighbors ever go shopping together?	Never	(0)	.....
		Rarely	(1)	.....
		Sometimes	(2)	.....
		Often	(3)	.....
3.12	Do you and your neighbors ever take care of each other's children when the other one is sick or busy?	Never	(0)	.....
		Rarely	(1)	.....
		Sometimes	(2)	.....
		Often	(3)	.....
3.13	Do you and your neighbors ever have picnics or parties or outings together?	Never	(0)	.....
		Rarely	(1)	.....
		Sometimes	(2)	.....
		Often	(3)	.....

Section 4.

		Answer Code	Column Number
4.1	In general, how do you feel about your neighborhood as a place to live?		
	I really don't care one way or the other	(0)	.....
	It's all right I suppose	(1)	.....
	A pretty good place to live	(2)	.....
	Best place I can think of	(3)	.....
4.2	How do you compare your neighborhood now with the way it was ten years ago?		
	More desirable	(3)	.....
	About the same	(2)	.....
	Not as desirable	(1)	.....
	Didn't live here	(0)	.....
4.3	How do you picture your neighborhood ten years from now?		
	More desirable	(3)	.....
	Less desirable	(2)	.....
	About the same	(1)	.....
	Don't plan to be here	(0)	.....
4.4	If you were to move from this address, would you prefer to move to:		
	Some other place in the neighborhood	(3)	.....
	Somewhere else in South Omaha	(2)	.....
	Somewhere else in Omaha	(1)	.....
	Outside of Omaha	(0)	.....

4.5 What are the main reasons you would not stay in the neighborhood?

_____

4.6 Have you heard about a plan to build a new highway in this part of town?
Yes
No

4.7 As far as you are concerned, is it a good idea or not a good idea to have a new highway built in this part of town?
Yes
No
Yes and No

4.8 What are the main reasons you feel that way?

_____

APPENDIX C

Subdivisions of Omaha

Appendix C

Subdivisions of Omaha

The importance of the neighborhood unit as a practical and useful subdivision of the city has been a controversial subject. The concept of the city as an aggregate of ideal neighborhoods, each composed of a population of 5,000, with its own government and schools has been a persistent one, even though it has never been implemented (Figure 4). The actual definition of subdivisions within a city typically has been delegated to the various governmental and service agencies, such as city planning departments, boards of education, election commissions and utility companies. Each establishes its own subdivisions according to its own rationale, and imposes them on the area, resulting in a different set of subdivisions for each agency or service.* Figures 5 and 6 present two of the subdivision schemes for the city of Omaha.

The opinion of residents of an area are not usually sought when such determinations are made. It has not been considered practical, either theoretically, or empirically to utilize the perceptions of the residents of an area to define the boundaries of the neighborhood subdivisions. The present study found a degree of consistency in the definitions of neighborhood boundaries by respondents that suggests the possibility that this method may be a sound one. Further research could be directed to determining whether people do consistently define neighborhoods within the limits of a certain population size and density and geographic area.

*An example of this can be found in John S. Hoyt, Jr., Regional Development Systems in Minnesota, University of Minnesota Agricultural Extension Service, Minnesota State Planning Agency, 1969.

Figure 4.

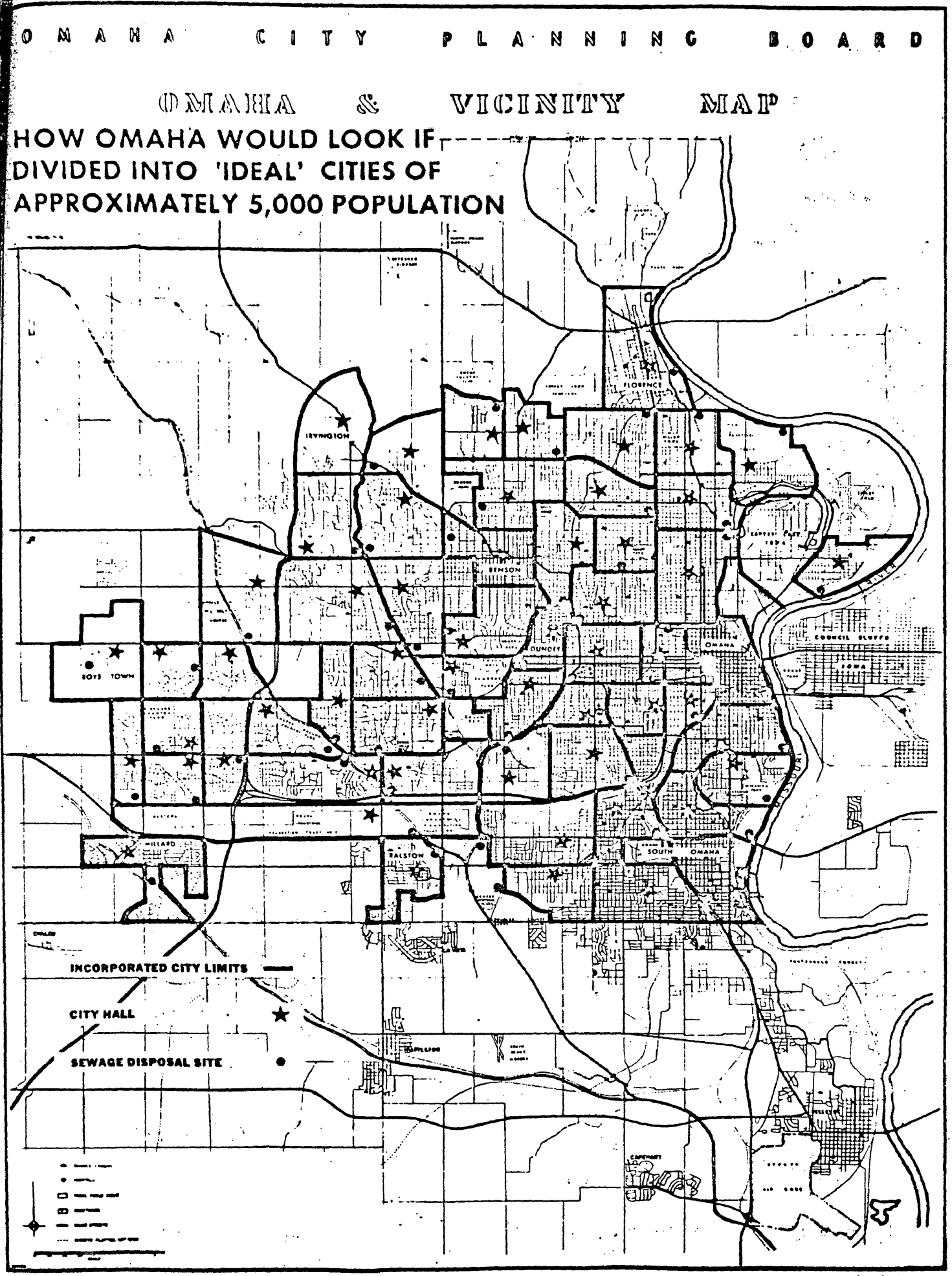
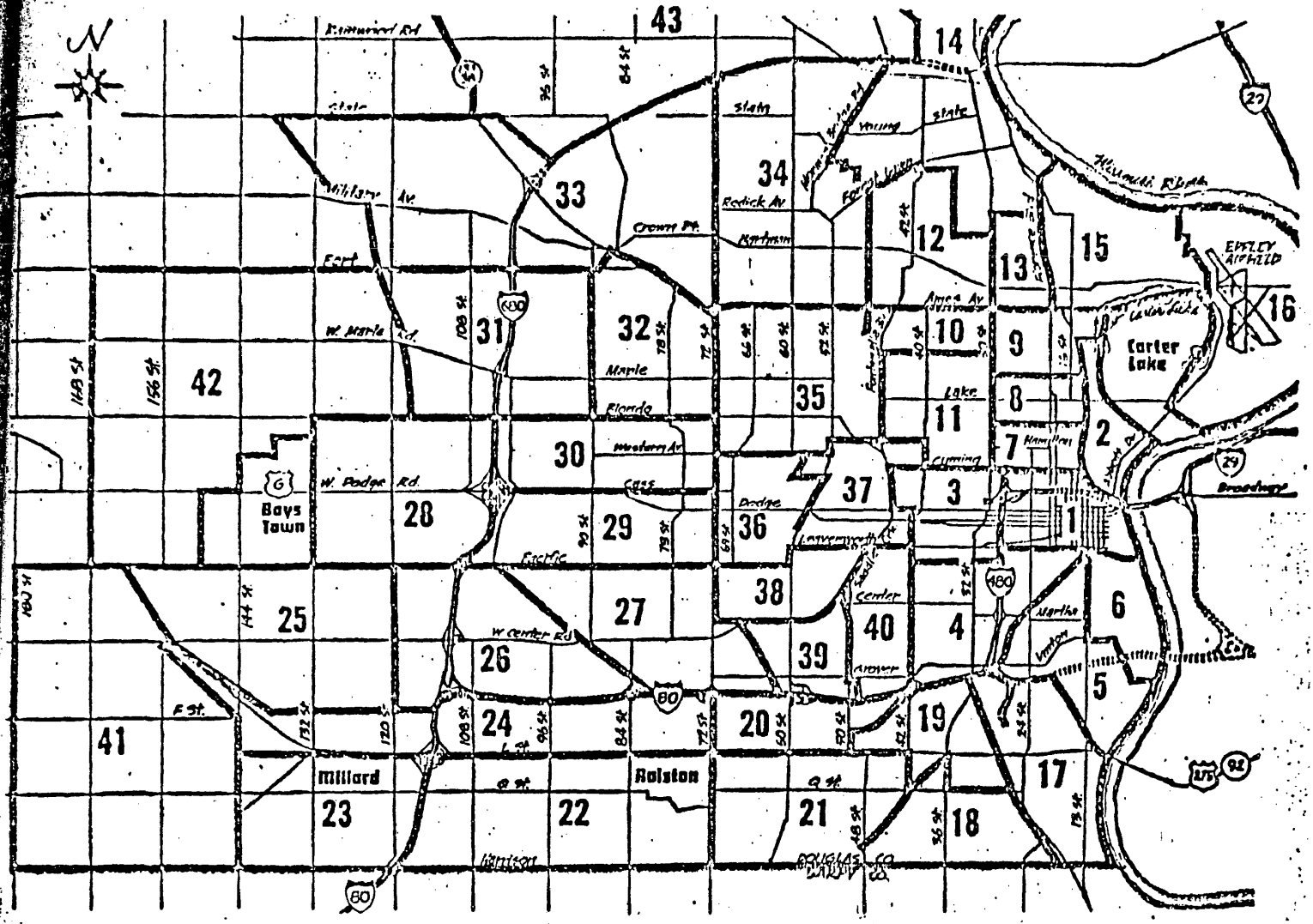

OMAHA CITY PLANNING BOARD
OMAHA & VICINITY MAP
HOW OMAHA WOULD LOOK IF DIVIDED INTO 'IDEAL' CITIES OF APPROXIMATELY 5,000 POPULATION
IRVINGTON
FLORENCE
BENSON
DUNDEE
OMAHA
COUNCIL BLUFFS
IOWA
BOYS TOWN
HILLARD
RALSTON
SOUTH OMAHA
INCORPORATED CITY LIMITS
CITY HALL
SEWAGE DISPOSAL SITE

Figure 5.--Proposed Neighborhood Planning Areas Omaha City Planning Department Sunday World-Herald October 18, 1970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36
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5
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20
19
41
17
23
22
21
18
Bays Town
Millard
Ralston
Carter Lake
Offutt AFB
Eppley Airfield
Missouri River
Florence
Dodge
Maple
Center
Pacific
Cass
Lake
Ames Ave
Broadway
Florida
Military Ave
W. Maple Rd.
W. Dodge Rd.
W. Center Rd.
Harrison
Arbor
Vinton
Martha
Cuming
Hamilton
Lafayette
Woolworth Ave
Western Ave
Crown Pt.
Redick Ave
Kortman
Locust
Grand
Fort
Ames Ave
Lake
Cuming
Hamilton
Broadway
Vinton
Martha
Arbor
Center
Dodge
Cass
Pacific
Harrison

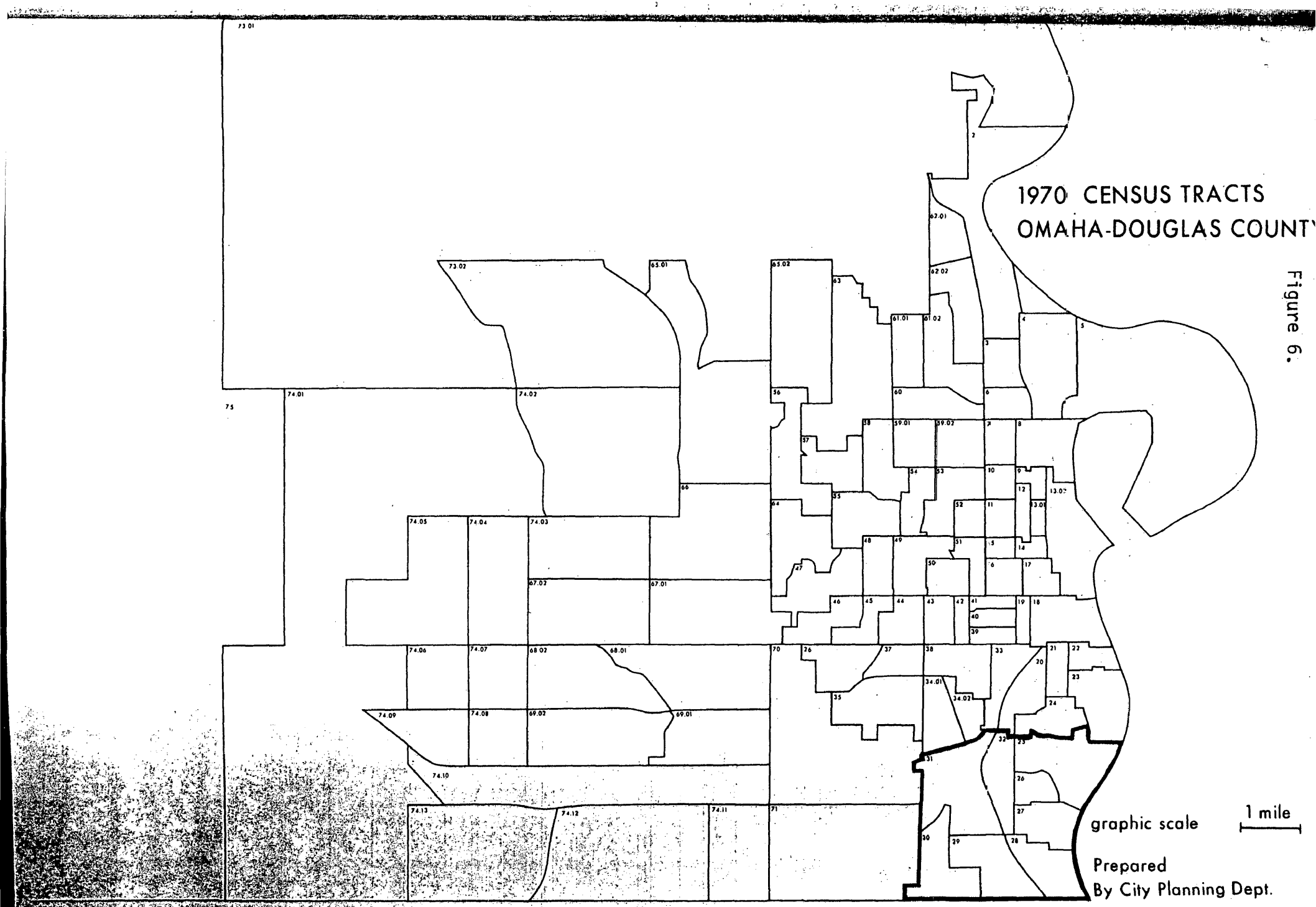
1970 CENSUS TRACTS
OMAHA-DOUGLAS COUNTY
graphic scale
1 mile
Prepared
By City Planning Dept.

Figure 6.